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ABSTRACT

Racist violence has followed the migration of minority families to the suburbs as intransigent whites resort to arson and other violence to preserve racially segregated neighborhoods. A study of this phenomenon of "move-in violence" for the years 1985-86 found it to be a serious, under-reported social problem nationwide. In cases where arrests have been made it has been found that the perpetrators were not members of such groups as the Ku Klux Klan or the neo-Nazis, and evidence suggests that the problem is as acute in the North and West, areas not traditionally associated with violent racism, as in the South. The report describes specific cases in Louisville, Baltimore, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, and other cities, and reports that white racist violence has targeted other minorities besides blacks. Nonetheless, the potential for white-on-black, southern violence remains strong, especially in certain southern rural counties. Because it appears that violent racism is being revived, the creation of a nationwide law enforcement reporting system to keep record of hate violence incidents is recommended. The participation of Federal law enforcement agencies in this system is critical, and more State and city police agencies must develop record-keeping procedures. Furthermore, it is recommended that laws against intimidations in which no bodily injuries result (cross-burning, etc.) be upgraded from misdemeanors to felonies. Appended is a list of serious move-in incidents, 1985-86, giving date, place, and nature of incident. (KH)

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The Southern Poverty Law Center

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SPECIAL REPORT:

"Move-In" Violence: White Resistance To Neighborhood Integration in the 1980's

Published by the KLANWATCH Project
of the Southern Poverty Law Center
Montgomery, Alabama

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SPECIAL REPORT:

"Move-In" Violence: White Resistance To Neighborhood Integration in the 1980's

By the KLANWATCH Project

Racist violence has followed the migration of minority families to the suburbs, as intransigent whites resort to the firebomb, the burning cross and the racial slur to preserve racially segregated neighborhoods in cities across the U.S.

From Baltimore, where a black family has been the target of firebombers twice in the last eighteen months, to Louisville, where racists arsoned a black family's home in 1985 on the very day they moved in, minority families are under siege as they attempt to exercise their right as American citizens to live wherever they choose. A good argument can be made that "move-in" violence[1] is the most common form of violent racism in the country today -- and one which stands to increase as greater numbers of minorities, particularly blacks, move into previously all-white areas.

Despite the national scope of the problem, no nationwide system exists among federal or state law enforcement agencies for keeping record of such incidents, and no one can say authoritatively whether or by how much violent acts are actually increas-

[1] So named by law enforcement officials and social workers.

ing.

But individual cities, including Philadelphia, Chicago and Cleveland, appear to be experiencing increases in the number of such incidents reported to human relations agencies and police.[2]

Whether or not these scattered findings suggest a national trend, they reinforce the impression left by television images of white mobs in Philadelphia, Howard Beach and Forsyth County, Ga., that violent racism is indeed on the rise.

The Klanwatch Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center in Montgomery, Ala., recently concluded a study of move-in violence for the years 1985-86 and found it to be a serious, under-reported social problem nationwide.[3]

Ironically, the problem cannot be blamed entirely on the Ku Klux Klan or the neo-Nazis, whose numbers have actually declined since the early 1980's.[4] To the contrary, in those few cases where arrests are made, the perpetrators of these attacks are rarely found to be card-carrying racists. This is not to minimize the Klan or other white supremacist groups, which represent a very real threat to minorities in selected communities across

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[2] Few communities keep track of racist violence incidents. In those which do, recordkeeping is still in the embryonic stage, and authorities are generally reluctant to attach too much meaning to their figures. Unofficially, many believe the problem is worsening.

[3] The study is based on information gathered through the daily monitoring of U.S. newspapers and additionally from government reports and interviews with several dozen human relations specialists and police officials.

[4] According to figures issued by the Anti-Defamation League, KKK strength in 1981 was projected between 10-12,000 members. By the end of 1986 that estimate had declined by half.

the country. But attacks against "move-ins," as the victims are called, are occurring in communities which haven't seen a Klansman since the heyday of the KKK in the 1920's. This finding, like the searing TV images of the white street mobs, suggests that violent racism runs broader and deeper in our society than most white Americans are comfortable admitting.

A second irony is that move-in violence may be as acute in the North, the Midwest and the West -- regions not traditionally associated with violent racism -- as in the South. Since 1985 a majority of the 45 known arson and cross burning attempts against move-ins have taken place in metropolitan areas of the North and Midwest, and the only known death connected to housing-related strife occurred in Cleveland.[5]

The data from this study -- incomplete as it necessarily is -- also shows that the phenomenon of move-in violence in the U.S. is only one aspect of the larger problem of racially, religiously and ethnically motivated violence: "hate violence" for short.[6]

Most hate violence attacks in the U.S. are perpetrated by whites against minorities. White-on-black incidents constitute

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[5] A 66-year-old black woman, Mabel Gant, died in the arson of her home June 2, 1985.

[6] The term "hate violence" denotes the entire range of acts of intimidation and violence motivated by race, religion or ethnicity. Aside from move-in situations, among the most common precipitating events are interracial dating, political activism and employment-related conflicts. Some of the worst hate violence attacks are purely random. According to reports reaching the Southern Poverty Law Center, three blacks and an Asian have been murdered in random violence in the past two years.

the majority of such incidents, but white attacks on Hispanic, Asian and Jewish victims are also of serious proportions.[7] Lately intergroup conflict between minorities, such as blacks and Asians, has emerged as a growing facet of the overall hate violence problem.[8]

The focus of the Klanwatch study was the slice of it pertaining to minorities who move into all-white or mostly white areas in U.S. cities and suburbs.

Attempts to drive minorities out of all-white or predominantly white neighborhoods most frequently take the form of intimidation and harassment rather than physical violence, yet even these incidents can be devastating emotionally. Such acts often consist of grafitti paintings, minor vandalism to home or property, or threatening phone calls or letters. Literally hundreds of such incidents happen each year, in cities big and

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[7] On a positive note, anti-Semitic incidents have declined in recent years, according to the Anti-Defamation League. At the same time, most incidents of anti-Semitism do not fall into the "move-in" category in that they generally are not precipitated by a victim moving into a neighborhood of a certain racial or ethnic makeup. Anti-semitic incidents seem to be motivated by factors other than the move-in syndrome, although at one time Jews were the targets of move-in violence.

[8] Asians, in fact, are increasingly the targets of both whites and blacks, according to Wallace Warfield, head of the Justice Department's Community Relations Service, based in Chevy Chase, Md.

small, in the North and West as well as in the South.[9]

When initial efforts to force the family to flee do not succeed, the hate campaign is often stepped up, sometimes leading to cross burnings, firebombings or arson. But generalizations about incidents are risky -- in other cases the more violent methods are employed as a first resort, not as a last one.

The firebombing of the Marshall home in Louisville is a case in point. The Marshalls are a middle-class black family who struggled to save enough money to leave their less desirable, central-city neighborhood for the suburban life of Sylvania, a mostly white, blue-collar community about twenty minutes from downtown Louisville.

On June 30, 1985, the Marshalls made the long-awaited move into their dream home. They were immediately greeted with hostility, as passersby began yelling racial slurs even before family members could finish unloading their possessions. Later that night a firebomb exploded through a window, setting the house on fire and forcing the family to flee for their lives. The next morning KKK posters were found on a tree and a telephone

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[9] Maryland alone reported 423 hate acts of all kinds in 1986, a decline from 441 in 1985, according to Joanne Anderson of the Maryland Human Relations Commission. The Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission, which collects statistics based on a fiscal year of July 1 - June 30, noted an increase from 67 incidents in FY85 to 124 in FY86. It is unlikely that hate activity is four times worse in Maryland than in Pennsylvania, a state several times its size. The disparity illustrates the need for a uniform, nationwide reporting system which will paint a more reliable picture of hate activity. Paradoxically, communities with the most comprehensive reporting systems appear on the surface to be experiencing the most serious outbreak of incidents.

pole in the yard and along the street. Within weeks three young whites were arrested -- none of them Klansmen -- but arsonists struck again on August 21, this time completely destroying the structure. An investigation revealed the Marshalls were at least the third minority family run out of the neighborhood in approximately two years and the second whose house had been arsoned.[10]

Like the Marshalls, many victims of move-in violence and harassment, ironically, are middle-class citizens who simply want to buy a piece of the American dream -- the ownership of a home in a safe, quiet neighborhood -- only to find that race counts more than money to their white neighbors. Most of the remaining victims of move-in violence are minorities who locate in all-white urban neighborhoods, some of which have centuries-old segregation traditions.

The mid-80's are replete with examples of both. In Chicago last summer, arsonists twice struck the home of a black family which had moved into an all-white neighborhood in Gage Park earlier in the year. The attacks were simply the most violent assaults of a six-month campaign of intimidation to drive the family out.

In the wake of such incidents the tendency of public officials is all too often to downplay the seriousness of the attack and to characterize the perpetrators as unrepresentative

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[10] Source: Klanwatch investigative files. The Southern Poverty Law Center filed suit on behalf of the Marshalls against the three young whites arrested in the first arson. No arrests have been made in connection with the second attack.

of the community, even in the face of strong evidence to the contrary.

The fact is that violent racists may believe they are carrying out the will of the community -- and, in fact, may be doing so. A neighbor of the Chicago victims was quoted by a reporter as saying, "I don't think [arson] is right. But it's also not right for them to come into a neighborhood when it's all white."[11]

Chicago had a hot summer in 1986 from the race-relations standpoint, perhaps reflecting the city's political climate -- or vice-versa. In addition to the pair of arson attacks, several hundred police officers had to be called out on June 28 to prevent violence between Klan and anti-Klan protesters in the mostly white Marquette Park area, and a march of about 80 blacks that same day was disrupted by a mob of several hundred whites hurling racial epithets, rocks and bottles. At issue was whether blacks have the right to move into predominantly white southwest Chicago neighborhoods. A reprise of the incident was played out August 23, when 700 police were marshalled to protect 15 black marchers from an angry crowd of 500 whites.

In a Baltimore suburb suspected racists finally succeeded in forcing Joyce Jones and her family out of a predominantly white neighborhood last summer. For the second time in less than twelve months, someone tossed an explosive device at her townhouse in North Point Village, a community in eastern Baltimore

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[11] Chicago Sun-Times, August 26, 1986.

County. The first attack failed when a Molotov cocktail thrown at the home on August 24, 1985, landed harmlessly on the lawn. But last June another attempt to burn down Mrs. Jones' house nearly ended in tragedy, and the close call persuaded her to move her family to a safer location. Neither incident has resulted in arrests.

Philadelphia is one of the cities hardest hit by racial problems. Whites there have been as overtly and aggressively racist as anywhere in the nation in erecting barriers to the integration of white neighborhoods. When a black couple and an interracial couple simultaneously moved into the southwest Philadelphia community of Elmwood during November 1985, a hostile mob of 400 whites demonstrated for two nights in front of their homes, cursing and threatening the new residents and chanting racial slurs. Faced with a riot or vigilantism, Mayor Wilson Goode imposed a ban on public gatherings in Elmwood in an attempt to restore order. But that didn't stop four young whites from torching the residence of one of the couples several weeks later.[12]

White attitudes seem to have softened little in the City of Brotherly Love since then. Last March a group of young whites gathered in front of the home of an Asian family in a mostly white, workingclass neighborhood and began taunting the refugees, making ethnic slurs and casting rocks and bricks through the

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[12] The four, ranging in age from 18-25, were arrested and successfully prosecuted on federal civil rights charges by the U.S. Attorney in Philadelphia.

windows of the house. The incident erupted into full-scale violence when two of the Asians fired weapons at the whites, grazing one of them in the head.

Then in July a black woman, Amzie Denson, was rebuffed in two attempts to move into homes in all-white neighborhoods. On the first occasion 75 whites massed in front of the home Denson intended to rent, in a scene reminiscent of the Thanksgiving week protests several months before. Although Denson did not witness the incident, she learned of it later and gave up on plans to move into the home. A house she viewed in another neighborhood was subsequently defaced with racial slurs, discouraging her from considering it as well.[13]

Philadelphia has also seen the "other" side of move-in violence. In the wake of the large influx of Asian refugees into the U.S. following the Vietnam War, thousands of Laotians of the Hmong tribe settled in an area called Powelton Village, a mostly black community on the city's West side. Blacks, accustomed to being the victims of racist violence, became the perpetrators of it against the Hmong. Convinced the Hmong received preferential government economic assistance denied to blacks, some young blacks harassed, threatened and attacked the refugees, in the same way as poor whites historically have scapegoated and attacked blacks. Once 6000 strong, the Hmong community in Powelton village had dwindled to 500 by 1985, partly as a result of wanton

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[13] Philadelphia police arrested a suspect, who was convicted on the strength of the testimony of a young eyewitness and was sentenced to a year in jail and a $2500 fine -- by national standards a comparatively harsh penalty for the crime.

attacks by their black neighbors.

In the Boston area, Vietnamese refugees have been attacked on the street as well as in their homes, and in July 1985 a house where 37 Cambodians lived in a poor white neighborhood in suburban Revere was set on fire and destroyed. No one has been arrested, but victims and social workers alike are convinced it was arson. Several incidents of harassment against the victims preceded the fire.

Two cross burning incidents directed against black "move-ins" marred an otherwise peaceful racial climate in Nashville between June 1985 and August of last year, and a firebombing in January 1985 drove a black family from its home in a predominantly white north Atlanta suburb, where move-in violence has been a serious problem in recent years.

Not even college campuses are immune. Once in the vanguard of the civil rights movement, colleges and universities now reflect the prevailing conservative mood of the country, so it should be no surprise that acts of hate violence should also seem to be on the rise in academia. In Tuscaloosa, Ala., two white students were arrested last March for burning a cross in front of what was to become the first black sorority house on the University's all-white Sorority Row.

But the most deadly act of move-in violence in the past two years occurred in Cleveland on June 2, 1985, when arsonists firebombed the home of 66-year-old Mabel Gant, a black woman. Gant, who was killed in the fire, had lived in the mostly white neighborhood for two years. White juveniles are suspected in

her murder. The day after the attack a black family which had moved into an area close by, on the mistaken assumption it was integrated, received a newspaper clipping of the Gant firebombing inscribed with the note, "You're next."

Since then, racist violence and intimidation -- including a cross burning -- have erupted in other Cleveland neighborhoods where blacks have crossed the color line.[14] Total move-in incidents rose from 50 in 1985 to 77 in 1986, according to the Cleveland Human Relations Commission.

Some of the decade's most publicized incidents of racist violence and intimidation have happened in the past 15 months: the already-cited mobs in the Elmwood section of Philadelphia; a racially motivated hazing incident at The Citadel in Charleston, S.C.; the murder of a young black man in the Howard Beach section of Queens in New York City; and, as this report was being prepared, a white mob's rock-throwing attack on a civil rights march in Forsyth County, Ga.

Aside from The Citadel situation, these incidents have something in common with the hundreds of other less publicized attacks that occur each year: the desire on the part of racist whites to preserve racial segregation in their neighborhoods or communities. At the core, that is what the recent attacks were all about. It was the sole reason the mob gathered outside the homes in Philadelphia's Elmwood community, where until just

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[14] The most publicized occurred last summer when a black man fired on a group of whites who had harassed and threatened a black move-in family. Several whites were injured in the shotgun blast but decided not to press charges.

recently residency had been a whites-only proposition for more than two centuries. According to the accounts of survivors and witnesses, it was the prime motivation for the attack in Howard Beach. And in Forsyth County, where blacks were expelled 75 years ago, the fear that they would move back was the spark that ignited an outpouring of white protest verging on mob violence.

Communities with the potential for becoming the next Forsyth County or Howard Beach are not as rare in the U.S. as many would like to believe. In the hilly, non-farming regions of the South there are numerous Forsyth counties, where blacks know they are neither welcome nor safe. Cullman County, Ala., is one such place.[15] In 1978 -- in a mirror image of the Forsyth County incident which attracted far less media attention -- a mob of 2000 jeering whites halted a march on Cullman by about 20 blacks from another county, forcing state troopers to whisk the marchers away for their own safety. Just as in Forsyth, the mob included Ku Klux Klansmen, who only agitated an already-tense situation.

But neither the Cullman nor the Forsyth incidents were creations of the KKK, and both the media and the public miss the point if the focus on Forsyth centers too narrowly on the Klan, for there can be no doubt at all that the incident would have happened even had the Klan not been involved. Of much greater concern should be the spectre of white vigilantism in the 1980's and the conditions which spawn it, whether in Forsyth County,

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[15] Unlike Forsyth, Cullman County does have black residents, who comprise about one per cent of the population.

Philadelphia, Chicago or New York.

Forsyth and Cullman are just two Southern counties -- among many -- where whites have never glossed over their dislike for blacks. Years ago citizens in both counties set up signs at the county line proclaiming, "Nigger, don't let the sun set on your head in Cullman [Forsyth] County." With the coming of the civil rights movement the signs came down, but the prejudices stayed.[16]

It is common knowledge locally among both blacks and whites where these danger zones are. Black parents in the northern regions of Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia, for example, still warn their children to avoid certain white communities, at least after dark. It is a warning which has been passed down from generation to generation. But one would be naive to think such conditions are confined solely to the South. In the North and West there are still neighborhoods and sometimes whole communities which, as a practical matter, are off-limits to minorities, and most local minority residents wouldn't dream of trying to purchase a home in these communities.[17]

In the wake of the most recent violent incidents, civil rights activists, reporters and people of goodwill around the nation are asking two fundamental questions: why are these

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[16] In 1978 a black civil rights activist hitchhiking through Cullman County was abducted from the shoulder of Interstate 65, stripped and beaten, then released. Shortly thereafter a Ku Klux Klan leader publicly admitted the Klan had carried out the abduction but disavowed any knowledge of the beating. Later he denied any KKK involvement in the attack.

[17] A Southern Poverty Law Center employee comes from a town in New Jersey located adjacent to just such a community. "Blacks have always known they were not allowed to live there," she says.

incidents happening? -- and are they increasing?

Neither can be adequately answered at this time. Without better data, no one can say with certainty whether violent racism is actually on the upswing or whether it is merely receiving more attention from social workers and the media alike. There is evidence of truth in both explanations. This report has already taken note of the fact that several major cities have recently reported increases, and Klanwatch files reflect an increase in major incidents in both 1985 and 1986 over 1984. But because those agencies which track incidents have begun to do so only in the last two or three years, it is difficult to characterize their current crop of statistics as either reliable or indicative of a trend.

Similarly, as awareness has increased among journalists, reporters have recently focused more on this issue than in past years, when incidents of the magnitude of Howard Beach and Forsyth County suffered from media neglect.[18]

Wallace Warfield, head of the Justice Department's Community Relations Service (CRS), cautions that the present spate of hate violence activity must be viewed in historical context. While the seriousness of these attacks cannot be minimized, Warfield says, the apparent increase in the number of attacks suggests at least that the process of neighborhood integration is going forward in American society, however fitfully.

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[18] This observation is not meant to assign blame; civil rights advocates may have been remiss in failing to draw attention to the problem.

Warfield also points out the cyclical nature of racist violence in U.S. history: periods of turbulence, as illustrated by the post-Reconstruction era in the South, the race riots following World War I and the upheaval of the 1960's, succeeded usually by years of relative calm. The contemporary situation may reflect yet another cycle of violence, according to Warfield. Of all hate violence incidents reported to CRS currently, a full forty per cent involve move-in violence, Warfield said.

Some human relations specialists worry that the problem is substantially more serious than the present limited data suggest. They warn that the number of reported incidents may represent only the tip of the hate violence "iceberg" because, they say, victims often fail to report attacks, either out of fear, denial or the conviction that law enforcement and the community at-large will view the incidents as pranks or the work of juveniles.[19]

In light of the deepening concern that violent racism is experiencing a revival, the Southern Poverty Law Center and its Klanwatch Project endorse the concept of a nationwide law enforcement reporting system to keep record of hate violence incidents. The system, under the direction of the F.B.I. or some other federal law enforcement agency, would simply require the

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[19] The fact that juveniles or young adults are responsible for many hate attacks has provided an easy "out" for public officials and whites in general to dismiss the incidents as pranks. The perception by some victims that no one cares is further compounded by a long tradition of insensitivity on the part of some law enforcement agencies, which are still viewed by victims as unsympathetic or hostile to their plight. In fairness to the police, many agencies are understaffed and overworked. Faced with solving homicides and robberies or cross burnings and vandalism, an officer's choice is clear-cut.

collection of hate violence incidents from state and local police agencies, in the same way the F.B.I. now gathers statistics on other areas of crime through its Uniform Crime Report. There is no clearinghouse on hate violence activity -- law enforcement or otherwise -- at this time.

Such a system would be a starting point and would provide public policymakers, civil rights activists, legislators and the general public with a more reliable statistical picture of the phenomenon. Just as importantly, it would enhance the prospects for fashioning effective responses.

Because move-in violence specifically and hate violence in general are national in scope and frequently involve violations of federal civil rights laws, the participation of federal law enforcement agencies in any reporting system is critical. Legislation to require such a system was introduced by Rep. Barbara Kennelly (D-Conn.) in Congress last session. It passed the House but failed to clear the Senate. An identical bill is expected to be introduced in the new Congress within days.

Currently, few police agencies anywhere keep record of hate violence incidents, although several major cities, including Los Angeles, Boston and New York, have created special units to handle hate crimes in recent years. The first agency to record incidents on a statewide basis is the Maryland State Police, which does so as a part of a pioneering government-wide effort begun under former Gov. Harry Hughes to monitor and combat hate

violence.[20]

Under the Maryland system, local police agencies are required by state law to keep such records and periodically to feed their data to State Police headquarters, which processes it. Although the system is imperfect -- the quality of reporting varies from town to town according to the commitment of the specific police agency to participate -- it nevertheless marks a beginning and is expected over time to become a yardstick for measuring trends in these crimes.[21]

Currently there are two key deficiencies in the way most law enforcement agencies process hate violence crimes: first, incidents are not classified by racial, ethnic or religious motivation, making it virtually impossible to tabulate hate violence acts, spot trends and perform analysis. A race-related assault is recorded only as an assault; an arson against move-ins is

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[20] Maryland began responding in a systematic way to hate violence about 1980, following an upsurge in both hate acts and KKK activity. Spurred on by a Baltimore-based coalition of public and private agencies, then-Gov. Harry Hughes ordered a full-scale government campaign to fight bigotry and extremism. Legislation was enacted upgrading certain hate-motivated offenses to felonies and requiring police to keep track of incidents. Programs were developed for schools. The University of Maryland conducted research. Eventually the National Institute Against Prejudice and Violence was created by lawmakers to develop further programmatic responses. The hard work and commitment paid off: the best models to follow in combatting bigotry and hate violence may be found in Maryland.

[21] Police in Baltimore and Montgomery counties have developed detailed procedures for handling hate violence crimes, from the point of commission through arrest and prosecution. These plans, which call for coordinatioon with social service agencies, address the human component of the crime and stress the need for officers to impress upon the victims that the community and the police view hate attacks seriously.

lumped with other arsons. The second problem is the mis-characterization of certain types of hate violence crimes: cross burnings are variously categorized as malicious mischief, vandalism or burning without a permit. Swastika paintings are often catalogued as grafitti incidents or mischief.

Besides requiring nationwide recordkeeping of hate violence crimes, a national reporting system would standardize the inconsistencies which now hinder meaningful analysis of law enforcement statistics.

Yet changes are needed not just in law enforcement but in the law itself. Under federal civil rights statutes currently on the books, for example, intimidation against minorities who move into white neighborhoods is only a misdemeanor unless bodily injury results; this must be changed. Cross burnings and terror campaigns inflict tremendous emotional suffering on their victims and should be dealt with before the law accordingly. The Congress should immediately move to upgrade this offense to a felony. State legislators can take steps to enact laws directed at the problem; a number already have.

Furthermore, the Southern Poverty Law Center recommends the creation of a special unit within the Criminal Section of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department to monitor move-in violence and prosecute its perpetrators. Under the Reagan Administration the Justice Department has compiled an impressive

record of prosecuting Ku Klux Klan and Klan-type violence,[22] but even more can and must be done. The Civil Rights Division should be given the resources and the lawyers to make as many cases as possible in order to bring move-in violence under control.[23]

But violent racism is far more than a law enforcement problem, and an effective response must encompass an array of remedial measures. At the grassroots level, schools and churches should undertake a program of education to promote racial harmony and understanding. Politicians and civic leaders as well must exert positive leadership to set a tone of tolerance in the comunity.

In the final analysis, these measures, not tougher laws or better law enforcement, offer the only real hope of lasting change. In the two hundredth year of the Constitution, there is no celebration more appropriate than to extend its guarantees fully to all Americans, including one of the most fundamental rights: to live wherever one wishes, free of the fear of racially, religiously or ethnically motivated violence.

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[22] According to Justice Department figures, 35 racial violence cases were prosecuted by the Department during the first term of the present Administration, compared to 22 during the term of former President Jimmy Carter. Since 1985, Justice Department lawyers have prosecuted 12 additional cases.

[23] Where local authorities will prosecute, they should be given every opportunity. In an increasing number of cases, prosecutions are originating at the local level. However, move-in attacks are federal crimes, and ones that strike at the core of one of our most treasured individual freedoms. A nationally directed effort would ensure enforcement where local authorities are unwilling to act. It would have the added benefit of symbolizing the national government's resolve.

APPENDIX

A Sample of Serious Move-In Incidents, 1985-86

DATE	PLACE	INCIDENT
1-9-85	Marietta, GA	A black family fled an all-white neighborhood after firebombs were tossed into the yard of their home.
5-25-85	Boston	Three Asians were attacked in their home by whites shouting racial epithets and death threats. The home was in a mostly white area.
5-31-85	San Diego	A white man was charged with federal civil rights violations in connection with a campaign of intimidation against a black family which moved into a mostly white neighborhood several months before. The defendant allegedly burned a cross in late 1984 and set fire to the victims' vehicle in April 1985.
7-16-85	Revere MA	The home in which 37 Cambodians lived in a poor white neighborhood was set on fire. Though no one was arrested, victims and social workers are convinced the blaze was ethnically motivated. Residents of the home had been harassed in the days preceding the fire.

6-11-85	Nashville, TN	Cross burned at the home of a black family moving into a mostly white neighborhood. Simultaneously three whites pounded on front door, yelling "Niggers get out."
6-30-85	Louisville, KY	The home of a black family in the white suburb of Sylvania was firebombed the night they moved in.
8-17-85	Elizabeth, NJ	A cross was burned outside a home being purchased by a black family in an affluent, all-white neighborhood. "No niggers" painted on driveway.
8-21-85	Louisville, KY	For the second time arsonists set fire to the home of a black family in an all-white neighborhood in Sylvania, outside Louisville. This time the house was a complete loss.
8-24-85	Baltimore MD	A firebombing attempt failed when an explosive device fell harmlessly on the lawn of a black family which had moved into a mostly white area of eastern Baltimore County.
10-26-85	Toledo OH	Shots were fired into the home of a black family which had just closed on a house in a mostly white neighborhood. Earlier that day a white male placed an anonymous phone call to the realtor to inquire if the house had been sold to minorities.

11-2-85	Amory, MS	A home recently occupied by a black family in a previously all-white area east of town was set on fire.
11-27-85	Forest Hills, PA	The home of a black couple preparing to move into a predominantly white community in this Pittsburgh was firebombed.
11-28-85	DeKalb County, GA	A firebombing attempt of a black residence in a predominantly white neighborhood failed when the fuses to the device were doused by moisture after the explosives fell short of their target.
12-12-85	Philadelphia	The home of a black family which moved into an all-white neighborhood was set on fire three weeks after white mobs demonstrated in front of the home. Four whites were subsequently arrested.
12-17-85	Cleveland	A cross was burned on the the lawn of a black family whose home was in a white pocket of the predominantly black South Collinwood community. Three young whites were later arrested. The next day a swastika and hate grafitti were spraypainted on a building near the victims' home.

1-9-86	Sandusky, OH	A cross was burned in the yard of a black family which had moved into a mostly white neigborhood only four days earlier. Two whites later pleaded guilty in the incident.
3-23-86	Philadelphia	Four whites were charged with ethnic intimidation and terroristic threats for allegedly making racial slurs and throwing rocks at the home of an Asian family in a mostly white neighborhood. One of the men was slightly hurt when two of the Asians fired on them.
3-29-86	Tuscaloosa, AL	Two white students enrolled at the University of Alabama burned a cross in front of a house scheduled to become the first black Greek house on the university's famed Sorority Row.
4-5-86	Sharon, MA	Three members of a white family pleaded guilty to federal civil rights charges in connection with a six-month campaign of harassment against the family of a black banker who lived in the mostly white neighborhood. The victims' property was vandalized, threatening phone calls were made to them, and dog feces was dumped on their lawn.
4-10-86	Tilghman Island MD	Four whites were arrested for burning a cross on the property of a black family which had recently moved into the remote, mostly white area.

6-10-86	Cleveland	Constant harassment of a black family which had moved recently into an all-white neighborhood erupted into gunfire and left several whites injured. The victims had located in the area through a city-sponsored program to integrate an all-white section on the city's west side.
6-27-86	Baltimore	A black family was driven out of its home in a predominantly white Baltimore County community after the home was firebombed. A previous firebombing attempt on Aug. 24, 1985, failed.
7-6-86	Chicago	The home of a black family which had recently moved into an all-white neighborhood in Gage Park was the target of an attempted firebombing.
7-7-86	Fairless Hills PA	A Molotov cocktail thrown through the window of a black family living in an otherwise all-white neighborhood failed to ignite. The family had lived in the area for some time.
7-13-86	Seattle	A cross was burned at the home of a black woman in a mostly white neighborhood in West Seattle.
7-24-86	Fairless Hills, PA	The home of a black family in a mostly white neighborhood was destroyed in a firebombing.

8-3-86	Joelton TN	A 10-foot high cross was burned on the lawn of a black family which had recently moved into an all-white neighborhood. Three months earlier unknown persons had painted "KKK" in the road near their house. The community is a suburb of Nashville.
8-15-86	Newburg, MD	A white youth was arresteed for allegedly burning a cross in front of a black woman's home in a mostly white neighborhood.
8-24-86	Chicago	The home of a black family which had recently moved into an all-white neighborhood in the Gage Park area was set on fire. It was the second attempt to burn the family out of the neighborhood in two months.
8-30-86	Philadelphia	Three black men passing through a predominantly white neighborhood on foot were harassed and beaten by a mob of whites armed with baseball bats and broom handles. According to the victims, one of the assailants told them, "You're in the wrong neighborhood, you niggers. We don't want your type coming through here."
8-86	Toledo, OH	Two racially motivated shootings, several threats and a cross burning wracked a mostly white neighborhood which had recently experienced an influx of minority families. A white

		adult and three juveniles were arrested. About the same time, a cross was set afire in front of a duplex rented by blacks in another predominantly white neighborhood in the city.
9-8-86	Harrisburg, PA	Two whites were arrested after a cross was burned at the home of a black family which had recently moved into a predominantly white neighborhood.
9-16-86	Rolla, MO	A cross was burned at the home of a black family living in a mostly white area. Two whites were later arrested.
10-7-86	Hamilton Township, NJ	A charred cross and an effigy of a black man were found on the lawn of a house occupied by nine black athletes at a nearby community college. The residence is in a mostly white area.
11-7-86	Indianapolis	A cross was burned in front of a duplex occupied by the only two black families in an otherwise all-white neighborhood.
11-86	Toledo, OH	An interracial church which moved into a predominantly white neighborhood was victimized repeatedly during the fall. Garbage was dumped in stairwells, beer bottles smashed against the front of the building and other acts of harassment have been committed.

12-20-86	New York City	A black man was killed when a mob of young whites chased him onto a busy thoroughfare in the predominantly white neighborhood of Howard Beach in the borough of Queens. The victim and two companions were on foot in the neighborhood after their car broke down and they walked for help. The whites yelled racial slurs and threats regarding the presence of the blacks in the workingclass white area.